the family always defers to Tui and consults him in preference to his older brother although the latter is theoretically the head of the family. Tui at first refused to allow the marriage on the grounds that Paula was too young. Paula persisted in his request until Tui gave his assent. Then Paula asked permission to marry from his own mother's brother *(fa'e tangata)*, Semisi. Semisi was agreeable. Finally Paula was sent to obtain the permission of his father's brother (his own father was dead). This permission too, was given, and the date fixed by the father's brother for the next day. All Meletautuli's relatives agreed to the marriage also. Had any of the parties consulted been unwilling, the marriage would have been postponed.

On the day following all this consultation, Paula together with Tui, Kali, and some friends visited Paula's father's brother at his home in the nearby village of Toula carrying a gift of six large yams, ten giant-sized *taro*, and three small pigs. At about the same time, Melenaite (not to be confused with the bride Meletautuli) who is Paula's mother's sister, sent Fa (another sister of Paula's mother), Litea (Paula's own sister), Loise (mother's younger sister's daughter of Eniketi, Tui's wife), and Pohiva (Kali's wife) to the village of Toula to prepare Paula's ceremonial marriage-skirt *(vala)*. The women took with them about one fathom of white bark cloth, one fine plaited mat of the type known as *fihu*, and five plaited mats of the kind called *kie*. The bark cloth and mats were all owned by Melenaite. In Toula, Meletautuli's mother had already got together the four *kie* mats that were to serve as the bride's ceremonial skirt. After eating and *kava* drinking, the party all set out for Neiafu to secure the marriage license. When they arrived at the town, it was discovered that the bride was only seventeen years old. Her mother was sent for to give permission to the marriage. The license was then issued, Tui paying the fee of six shillings. Then the group went to the church where the religious ceremony was performed. Again Tui paid the fee, this time the sum of four shillings. Tui then hired a motor lorry to carry the party back to Toula. For the truck-hire he paid three shillings.

After the arrival back at Toula, an oven was opened, the food laid out on coconut-leaf mats, and all sat down to

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

at Tongan feasts do the same. The combination of European dress and fingers for knives, forks and spoons seems strikingly incongruous to one new to the custom. At the end of the meal a basin of water is passed around, so that each one may wash his hands. 264

Perfumes are much appreciated by the Tongans and traders say that they discriminate between the cheaper and the better grades. This is clearly but a transferal of their old interest in perfumed coconut oil, with which they still freely anoint themselves. 302 [178]

European alcoholic drinks are called kava papalangi (foreign kava). They are permitted only to the land-holding chiefs, in a limited quantity, and to foreigners. Commoners must go without. 273 [656] [565]

Stone, bone, and shell implements have been supplanted long since by metal implements. Contact with European-American culture has resulted, however, in the rise of a new stone implement. This is the slab of stone and the stone pounder for preparing kava root. Formerly this was chewed to prepare the brew; now, owing to Caucasian influence, it is pounded. 177 [41] [415] [276]

The former narrow roads that traversed the various Tongan islands have now all been replaced by roads of standard width for wheeled vehicles. The commonest vehicle is a two-wheeled cart imported from New Zealand. The Tongan usually dispenses with the board seat and sits cross-legged on the bed of the cart. In the two large islands of Tongatabu and Vavau automobiles have made their appearance. They are the more numerous in the former island where the levelness of the country makes for ease in driving. The majority of cars are driven by Caucasians, but the Tongans are fast learning. Many Tongans have been familiar for years with gasoline launches. 491 178 493 [439] [177] 501

Vehicles keep to the left in Tonga. 494

Many Tongan houses show a hybridism in construction. Often the roof will be of corrugated iron instead of the regular thatch. Or again, the sides and rounded ends will be of boards instead of cane. These innovations usually do not affect the shape of the house. Many churches are in native architecture, which employs sinnet cord instead of nails. 342 177 346 178

Appreciation of money is naturally developing in Tonga and is undoubtedly an important factor in the process of acculturation. National feeling, though probably existent 177 436 186 178

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

797 refreshments by our kind entertainers, we sailed again for home.

March 7th.—Started at daybreak for Hologa, a place nine miles distant from Neiafu. There having been heavy rains during the last few days, the roads were in bad condition. The country is very undulating in this direction, and, in some localities, the rains having washed away the alluvial soil from the underlying strata of clay, it was almost impossible to keep one's footing, or make any advance. We were met, however, by a party of men 797 from Hologa, who, knowing the state of the roads, 494 had brought a *fata*, or rude palanquin, on which to [493] carry me forward. It was not so stylish as those of the Eastern continent, but it afforded a welcome relief to wearied limbs. It consisted of a cocoanut leaf mat doubled, and having a pole inserted at each end. I sat upon the mat, and was borne along by four men. The poor fellows had many a slip, and were bathed in perspiration; but they would not hear of my descending again to walk. They seemed really proud at having a Missionary to carry, and were not a little pleased that my weight was nothing when compared to that of my venerable and portly colleague, Mr. Turner, for whom they had often done the same kind service. 797 The delightful work of the day amply made up for all the toil. Found it very profitable to explain the Scripture lessons read. The people seemed greatly interested; and when the service was concluded, and we had retired to the Teacher's house, many questions were asked on various passages of Scripture, to all of which I gave explanations according to my ability.

[794] Friday, 12th.—To-day we have been busy enough
[431]

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

[Niua Foou]

797 504 the water, each of whom seized the gunwale of the boat, guiding it stem on toward the bluff rock before us. The sailors meanwhile "feathered" their oars, and were prepared to "back water," in case the swell should carry the boat forward with too great velocity, in which event it would either have been instantly smashed upon the rocks, or overset by the rebound of the sea. Thus, poised upon the top of the swell, we each watched when the boat rose level with the ledge of rock, and at a favourable moment sprang upon the shore. The operation involved the certainty of a ducking, if not something worse, in the event of a false or short jump, and of broken shins or knees, in case of landing too heavily. With the exception of some of our goods getting wet, no misfortune attended our landing. We found that preparations had been made for carrying us to the chief town, about four miles distant, and knowing how much labour of another kind was before us, we reluctantly consented to the proposal, only descending from the rude palanquin or hammock to walk, where the road was excessively steep, or was too narrow to admit of safe progress, excepting in single file. Certain parts of the road we took skirted the top of tremendous precipices descending to the lake lying in the centre of the island. At these points it required some nerve to look without giddiness on the grand scene below us, and to pass on in safety. We need not, however, dwell upon the natural features of the island, these having been already described in former pages.*

797 [494] [493] [133]

A round of ministerial duties, such as we had already discharged at Niua Tobutabu, gave us full

* See pages 82-88.

that had fewer than three hundred people.) Furthermore, 162
the factor of size of population may be of only minor 621
significance. Admittedly, there is likely to be more 621
heterogeneity in large villages, simply as a function of
their having more people. However, accounts of villages
that have fewer than three hundred people suggest that
the structure of these villages and their relation to
other units of structure may be very similar to that of
Motulahi (Aoyagi 1966, Beaglehole 1941, Morton 1972). And
even in these small villages there may be considerably
diversity.

While Motulahi is not necessarily very different from 361
smaller villages, it may be significantly different from
villages that are remote from urban influences. While it [494]
is in no sense a suburb of Nuku'alofa, there is very easy
access to town via the many buses and trucks which ply the
main roads that run east and west on Tongatapu and converge
on Nuku'alofa. On the other hand, there is fairly easy
access to town from virtually all the villages on
Tongatapu (see Map 3). The same is largely true on the
island of Vava'u, although public transportation is less
well developed there. The contrast in this respect, there-
fore, is with the isolated village-islands elsewhere in
Tonga. There is fairly easy small-boat sailing within the 361
island clusters in good weather, but the weather is not 505
always good. Larger vessels appear only at irregular and

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 61]

49: Rogers A-4,5 (no date) 1969 OU9 Tonga OU9

deceased husbands. As the law prohibits any person from holding two or more tax allotments, either a very high proportion (32.78%) of tax allotment holders must be women, or the census returns have not revealed the way land is allotted.

Whatever interpretation is cast on allotment holdings and holders the fact remains that at least one half of all Tongan men over sixteen stated that they held no tax allotment. According to Tongan ideology these men are landless, "*ta'ema'u 'api tukuhau*", even though they may have access to land for food production. As expected the greatest number of "landless" men fell within the lower age-groups but it is remarkable that so many men in the middle age-groups were without tax allotments. 83.5% of all men between fifteen and twenty-nine years of age and 51.7% of those between thirty and forty-four stated that they held no land. One fifth of these "landless" men were living in Nuku'alofa but the greatest majority were in rural areas of Tongatapu where there is public transport to Nuku'alofa. For example, in nearly all of the rural villages of Tongatapu (44 out of a total of 53), more than 50% of the males eligible for land stated that they had no land. In the Ha'apai islands, on the other hand, in only eight out of twenty-two rural villages were there more than 50% of all adult males without tax allotments.

The Census Officer for 1966 wrote that ". . . even if the larger tax-'*apis* are further subdivided into four-acre allotments, there would still be not enough land for all male taxpayers. This simply means that the number of landless males will continue to increase yearly" (p. 31). There are, however, some unhabited high islands (see footnote 3) and an (unpublished) amount of land held by Tongan nobles which is either not made available as tax allotments or is farmed by commoners resident on noble estates who have not been granted registered title to the land.

What then are the prospects for these "landless" males? Firstly, according to the custom of the land they should all have access to land belonging either to a kinsman or to a noble. These rights of usufruct are in most cases for the growing of subsistence crops only and not for cash crops, and the traditional right is becoming a privilege which is paid for. Since it is becoming more difficult for even rural dwellers to do without money, as modern manners create new "necessities", it is likely that "landless" men and their families will not share the same standards of living as those with registered land. It is noteworthy that if the eight-acre allotments were divided in half (as has already happened in parts of the Ha'apai and Tongatapu islands), there would be a corresponding lowering of cash income and consequently of standard of living of the new occupants, as well as the possibility, under current methods of cultivation, of soil exhaustion and erosion.

Secondly, there may be a case in Tonga for the development of co-operative land-holding groups centred on the village, with household units working land within the cooperative. Specialized crop production, mechanization, fertilization, and fencing could all be developed within the cooperative, but each household unit could retain its own *'api* lands for subsistence cropping and household requirements. Such a scheme

368 Besides dwellings and the attendant secondary buildings, Puke has
366 a church, a town building, a kindergarten, a clinic and a store. All except the last are grouped on a small piece of land donated by the noble for community purposes. The store is located next to the house of the store owner.

491 An unsurfaced road connects the village with the main road and
494 buses traveling the main road are usually the only form of motor trans-
365 port used by the villagers. A power line runs beside the main road but no feeder line has been extended to Puke and there is no other source
312 of electrical power. The major sources of water are rain catchment and storage in brick and cement cisterns. There are also a few hand-dug wells from which water is obtained by rope and bucket.

Village Demography

162 Village population in 1971 was 261 persons living in 42 households.
[592] Table 5A describes the population by age and sex. The population has
(166) grown considerably since 1955 due largely to migration from more remote
[161] islands of Tonga (See Table 6B for origin of household heads and Table 7C for crude growth rates). Puke, being close to Nuku'alofa, has experi-
369 enced the effects of rural-to-urban migration in the archipelago (See
166 Walsh 1969: 95-98). Recent immigrants have come to Puke because it provides easy access to services centered in Nuku'alofa not available in most of the more rural locales. Opportunity for education and better health care are frequently given as reasons for wishing to live close
166 to Nuku'alofa. Informants also mention the greater availability of

A, B, C [See pp. 27-29 respectively--Analyst]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 30]

443 built a store and hired one of the villagers to run it. In about 1925 the third store was built and run by a villager, and twice since that time other villagers have maintained stores. There have been five stores since 1908 but none has run concurrently with any other, and the presence of at least one store has been nearly continuous. This time distribution might be evidence that more than one store could not be supported by the village.

443 438 [464] The current store owner has a full-time wage labor job in Nuku'alofa and gardens for most of his family's food; his wife runs the store. The store is not kept open continuously but is opened at almost any time a customer wishes to make a purchase except on Sundays. Merchandise is [494] [493] acquired at larger stores in Nuku'alofa in small enough quantities so that the owner may transport them from Nuku'alofa by bicycle. The inventory consists primarily of sugar, flour, tinned meat and fish, candies, tabacco products, and a number of small household items such as batteries, thread, razor blades, and needles. Two other important items are kerosene and soap products.

[452] The store owner allows credit purchases for some members of the community up to a maximum of $T5.00. Store inventory fluctuates considerably and villagers do not rely upon it for that reason they buy large proportions of goods at larger stores in Nuku'alofa. An analysis of buying patterns for twenty households using sample A showed that 6.65 percent of the goods purchased were purchased at the local store.

NOTES

Chapter I

000 [1]Initial fieldwork in the village of Puke was characterized by suspicion and even hostility on the part of some villagers.

[2]At times the same exchange event would be recorded from the donor and the recipient. This provided an excellent opportunity to check for reliability, and then only the first record of the exchange would be used in the sample.

[494] [122] [3]Puke was convenient because transportation was available and reliable between the village and Nuku'alofa where I resided.

Chapter II

[436] [1]The basic unit of Tongan currency is the pa'anga 'dollar' and during this study it was valued at $T1.00 = $US1.14. All monetary figures in this text are expressed in Tongan currency.

[128] [2]Titles referred to in this text are actual titles, but all personal names appearing are fictitious.

Chapter III

[124] [1]Very few informants remember names of ancestors further removed than great grandparents.

[804] [2]One rood and 24 perches equals 64 square rods or about 3/8 acre.

Chapter IV

[1]I did record one case of adoption by an unmarried male, but that case was not in the sample from which I am generalizing.

[2]In 56 percent of adoptions recorded the adopting parents and the biological parents resided in the same village, giving ample opportunity for an adoptee to continue seeing his biological parents.

87: Wood M,Y-4,5 (no date) 1932 OU9 Tonga OU9

206 Wireless stations have been established at Nuku'alofa, Lifuka (Ha'abai), Vava'u, Niua Fo'ou and Niua Tobutabu; only the first station has communication with other countries. There is also a telephone service at Nuku'alofa.

494 The advent of motor traffic has made the improvement of roads necessary, and these have been built with the only available stone, coral limestone.
491

VITAL STATISTICS, EDUCATION AND RELIGION.

161 The estimated population, full-blooded Tongans only, on 31st December, 1931, was 29,157. Tonga is one of the comparatively few Pacific Island groups where the population is steadily increasing. There is no justification for imagining that the population of Tonga has ever reached 30,000, but rather the indications are that, even in the most prosperous times before the coming of Europeans, it did not exceed 25,000. The present figures may therefore be taken as the highest level which the Tongan population has reached, and there is no fear that the country cannot support a population continuing to increase at the present rate for several decades.

162 Reference is sometimes made to Cook's statement that 10,000
175 people were present at the festival held in his honour at Togatabu, and
161 3,000 at Lifuka. Especially bearing in mind the visitors who would come from other islands for such a unique event, these figures certainly do not
361 justify a belief in a greater population than the present. The land seemed
175 then to be better occupied as the people were spread out over their gardens, there being no villages until the Civil War period.

161 Wilkes received an estimate from the missionaries in 1840, and this may be compared with the Government statistics in this century,
[165] noting the effects of the pneumonic influenza epidemic in 1918–19 and the way in which the loss of 1,000 lives then has since been more than redeemed (these figures are for full-blooded Tongans only):

1840	18,500 (excluding the two Niuas)
1900	20,019
1911	21,712
1917	24,245
1918	23,842
1919	22,689
1920	23,128
1924	25,109
1927	26,597
1929	27,660
1930	28,431
1931	29,157

161 The Police Census of 27th April, 1931, gives a total of 28,839,
162 comprising 27,700 Tongans (this involving a discrepancy with the estimate of the Registrar of Births and Deaths), 482 Europeans, 265 half-castes, 336 other Pacific Islanders, 56 foreigners, mostly Asiatics.

563 Racial inter-marriage is not so common at the present time; nevertheless, a considerable proportion of those officially classed as "full-

241 For commuting between the bush and town allotments and
481 transporting agricultural produce, the commonest modes of
494 transportation are walking, riding horses, horsecarts
493 (saliote), bicycles, and buses. Of a sample of 140 house-
492 holds, only 9 percent owned a motor vehicle whereas 26
percent owned bicycles; 28 percent owned horsecarts (saliote)
494 and 48 percent owned horses. The percentage of households
369 owning bicycles and motor vehicles and those riding buses
to their bush allotments was higher for Nuku'alofa than the
rural areas, whereas understandably the reverse was true of
241 those owning horses and horsecarts. Farmers desiring to
494 transport considerable volumes of crops, firewood, or other
427 material often rent trucks or horsecarts. In maintaining
241 the fertility of the soil, Tongan farmers have considerable
242 empirical knowledge and understand the necessity of crop
rotation and a sufficient fallow period. They realize that
stands of large trees or certain shrubs and herbs, such as
Lantana camara, Leucaena leucocephala, Paspalum conjugatum,
and Phaseolus semierectus, indicate better soil than species
like Panicum maximum, Cyperus rotundus, or Sida rhombifolia.
They also realize that the length of the fallow period has
been declining and that the soils are presently more
impoverished than in the past. The primary means that most
Tongans use to improve soil fertility are fallowing and
[654] burning dead plant material. The government encourages the
use of commercial fertilizers, and out of 137 sample house-

/229 cont./ These wagons are not
398 made in the Archipelago, but some Tongans, even on the small islands, know how to repair them and how to make individual wagon parts (for example, wheels) from remnants of broken carts with the use of Tongan and European raw materials.

493 In recent years the becycle has become somewhat widespread on
494 the islands of the Archipelago. Some natives (especially younger ones) already own bicycles that they bought in the chief towns. However, except on the main islands, where the bicycle is very serviceable on account of the greater distances and the paved streets, it does not seem to be an entirely adequate method of transportation. Though some Tongans already use the bicycle on the small islands (some of them to go to their plantations), there is very often no actual need for it, since many roads and paths are very poorly passable by bicycle; here it is more a symbol of economic prosperity and a toy.

484 On the larger islands of Tongatapu and Vava'u there is scarcely
(481) a native who takes the trouble to travel on foot the sometimes long distances from the villages to the chief towns of Nuku'alofa and
484 Neiafu. Some ride their bicycles, but the majority of Tonga men and
494 women let themselves be transported by trucks belonging to the govern-
493 ment, the Copra Board, white traders and Tongan drivers. In 1951 there were 151 trucks in the Archipelago, (599)

599. See Colonial Office, Report on the Tonga for the Years 1950 and 1951. /cited in English/ p. 23.

most of which operated on Tongatapu (mostly with Tongan drivers); some of them operated on Vava'u and three on /230/ Lifuka. On the main island there are also a couple of superannuated buses still in existance. The taxis, of which there are a few on Tongatapu (Nuku'alofa) (with Tongan drivers), are used not only by whites, but frequently also by natives themselves for trips and for transport

/230 cont./

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494
493 of all kinds (even for carrying pigs). In 1951 there was a total of 80 private cars in the Archipelago (600)

600. Ibid. p.23.

almost all of which drove on Tongatapu; some were owned by whites living there. Moreover, in the same year, 16 motorcycles (601)

601. Ibid. p. 23.

were registered in the Archipelago.

491 The old Tongan roads were, of course, not equal to traffic by such vehicles. From the sources we can scarcely tell whether the former "roads" were in any way paved or were simply surfaced with hard-pounded clay. While the small islands are today still criss-crossed by the traditional unpaved and, in the rainy season, very soggy roads and paths, some of which go back to the distant past, others to the beginning of the settlements, the islands of Tongatapu and Vava'u have a few good highways, fully adequate for truck traffic year round, surfaced with coral stone or even asphalt; these were built by Tongans under the supervision of Whites. In 1951 there were about 60 miles of such roads on Tongatapu and 18 miles on Vava'u. (602)

602. Colonial Office, Report 1950/51. p. 23.

484
501 As for sea traffic, the most important change in comparison with the past is the complete stop of long trips to other archipelagos

501
197
484 with catamarans. It has been a very long time since those so "carefully and skillfully built" (603)

603. See J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. p. 287.

catamarans (604)

604. In the second half of the 18th century, the Tongans gave up their catamaran-type known as "tungiakia" in favor of the Fijian "ndrua"-catamaran, which they felt was superior, and which they copied masterfully and called

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

241 factor in Tongan society reduces the incentive for increased
241 production. Individuals who manage to significantly increase their
571 production of crops or agricultural profits are under social pres-
426 sure to supply loans and miscellaneous obligations to close rela-
tives and friends. This practice severely reduces the independence
of the farmer. Several informants stated that they would not
increase crop production because neighbors and relatives subse-
426 quently "borrow" all extra produce. Although lending is a tradition
556 which increases the social status of the lender, resentment toward
178 this social obligation is increasingly expressed among younger land-
holders, who place higher esteem on cash than tradition.

241 At present, the typical farmer appears to work his 'api an
461 average of 18 to 20 hours per week. The remaining time is occupied
[125] by a variety of additional activities. Although statistical evidence
of the duration of each activity was not collected, three activities
241 appeared to be dominant. Owing to the distribution of population
461 and the subsequent pattern of settlement, a farmer often spends
484 several hours per day traveling to and from his 'api. Travel
extremes from zero to 21 miles were reported by interviewees. Occa-
sionally, informants reported leasing land on nearby islands, which
necessitated travel overland, as well as by boat. However, an
average of 6.75 miles was determined to be the distance necessary
[494] for the typical farmer to travel to his 'api. Although the principal
islands of the Kingdom have bus transportation, the busses average
no more than 15 miles per hour, thereby consuming at least an hour
of travel per day for the average farmer. Frequently, walking for

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 978 OU9 Tonga OU9

241 Frequently, walking for
461 another hour follows the bus ride. Transport of crops from the 'api
484 usually involves greater lengths of time as the common method con-
494 sists of a horse-drawn cart (Plate 9, p. 93).
[481] A

Fishing is a second significant activity conducted away from
226 the 'api, although of less concern within the interior of Tongatapu
[461] and along those shores with poor sources or access. In Vava'u and
[262] Ha'apai, fishing often consumes several hours per day, and supplies
[438] not only family food needs, but also enough for sale in local markets.

461 A third major activity concerns church and social functions within the local village or the nearest urban area. Many of these activities are concentrated during the weekends, such as marketing and major church functions. However, social activities during the week require participation of several hours per week.

In addition to the above, an entire range of miscellaneous labor must be considered, due to the low level of specialization of
461 labor in Tonga. Thus, to summarize, it is evident that potential
241 expansion of agricultural production in Tonga involves not only issues of land tenure and management, but also individual incentive, tradition and the amount of time devoted to agricultural activities.

During interviews conducted on all of the major Tongan islands, lack of land was most frequently denoted to be the major limitation upon agricultural expansion, while laziness of Tongan
241 farmers was the second most frequent response. The third most
412 frequent explanation concerned the lack of adequate agricultural tools and machinery. An examination of farm equipment, either owned or rented by the interviewees, indicated that most farmers possess

A [Due to poor quality of original, plate has not been marked for a Category--Analyst.]